



Citizens' Participation Using Sortition

A practical guide to using
random selection to guarantee
diverse democratic participation



Random selection has a long history in politics

From antiquity to the 18th century, random selection was used in filling offices and governments in order to prevent nepotism, but also to obligate citizens to serve the polity.

Sortition is increasingly being used in citizens' participation processes

Random selection was only rediscovered in the 1970s in order to organize civic participation and to randomly and representatively determine the group of people who would deliberate on a certain issue or problem.

Random selection guarantees a high degree of legitimacy

The level of acceptance enjoyed by the citizens' recommendation is significantly higher if the citizens' participation project gives all citizens the same opportunity to participate, if the composition of the group of citizens is representative and diverse, and if this conveys independence. Sortition provides for all these advantages.

Sortition is suitable for all topics on all levels

Random selection is particularly suitable on the national and European level if the goal is to involve as many population groups as possible. Independence is the decisive plus in emotionally charged debates.

Advantages can only be realized in combination with deliberative participation processes

The group of selected citizens must be given guidance: The organizers and/or moderators must provide participants with sufficient information and make it possible to have a discussion in which participants can exchange their views on an equal footing. They must also ensure that the results are recorded.

Sortition requires careful preparation

The selection of citizens is part of the overall participation process and requires early planning on issues such as methods of sortition, determining the sample space, and the possible use of quotas and weighting of individual groups.

Citizens want to be valued

The relevance of the topic determines whether enough citizens will get involved. However, informative invitations through the appropriate channels, being addressed in person, and incentives to participate can also be persuasive.

The first draw is rarely enough

The group is rarely complete, balanced and diverse after sortition and recruitment. As a general rule, some follow-up work has to be done. This quality control is important for the overall success of the participation process.

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Introduction

Sortition is part of our everyday lives. If a decision is to be unbiased and incorruptible as well as guarantee absolute equality of opportunity, it is often decided by random selection. In football, a coin toss determines which team will kick off the match, who chooses sides, and which team will start a penalty shoot-out. Match pairings for the tournaments of many sports are also drawn by lottery, and the results are also determined by pure chance when numbers are drawn for lotteries or bingo.

However, random selection isn't limited to the worlds of sports and games. For example, lotteries are used in many countries to select the lay judges and jurors involved in court proceedings. Randomly selected citizens are entrusted with considerable responsibility: They have to decide on the guilt or innocence of a defendant – and, in some legal systems, even on life or death. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, high offices in government and public administration were filled by sortition to preclude corruption and nepotism.

Nowadays, random selection is an integral part of citizens' participation processes. In recent years, citizens in Germany and other European countries have been brought together via sortition to work out proposals on constitutional issues, municipal reforms, urban development and aerospace projects. Political and administrative bodies are increasingly relying on this instrument in order to put participatory processes on a broad foundation, to involve all population groups as much as possible, and to thereby boost the quality and acceptance levels of the decisions.

The aim of this guide is to provide guidance and assistance on how to plan processes of citizens' participation. Based on the author's and editors' many years of experience (see information on page 35), the guide provides an overview of what sortition is, which different processes are available, when which process is best suited, how to carry out the processes, and what they cost. Basics and practical tips are illustrated using successful examples from Germany and other European countries.



THE BASICS

Sortition as a tool in participation projects

What is sortition?

Sortition is a process of random selection that reduces a range of options to a single one. The distinctive quality of sortition is its indeterminacy: None of the actors involved can influence the decision according to their own will. Herein lies the essential difference to other selection processes that merge individual interest into a universally valid result, such as by voting (laws) or market mechanisms (prices). Random selection is based on the targeted use of chance.

High quality and legitimacy

People can be recruited to take part in a process of citizens' participation in various ways, such as via direct invitations or self-selection. Compared to these processes, which do not rely on chance as a decision-making criterion, sortition offers a number of advantages:

- **Inclusiveness:** Sortition guarantees equality of opportunity. With random selection, every citizen has the same probability of being selected. Non-engaged citizens are easier to reach than via other recruitment procedures.
- **Heterogeneity:** Sortition limits self-selection. The group becomes more diverse and can even be statistical representative in larger draws (over 1,200 names). Even though groups are usually smaller in practice, they tend to reflect the diversity of opinions in the citizenry.
- **Independence:** Sortition minimizes particular interests. No preferential treatment is given to the “usual suspects” who regularly get involved. The risk of infiltration by organized interest groups is significantly lower, and the groups convened via random selection are viewed as being non-partisan.

These three advantages often result in decisions that enjoy higher levels of quality and legitimacy. Project evaluations have shown that groups selected via sortition work in a particularly empathetic manner, are oriented toward the common good, and take long-term impacts into consideration. The recommendations formulated by such groups are often forward-looking and form a strong foundation for ambitious policies.

The downside of such inclusiveness and independence is that motivated citizens who would like to participate in the process may not get a chance to do so. This can be compensated by additional event formats for interested citizens, by online participation or – as in the classical form of the planning cell – by hearings of organized interests. Another disadvantage of sortition is that it can require greater efforts than other recruitment methods, such as simple invitations. Sortition requires well-thought-out preparation and follow-up as well as the sensible combination with a deliberative procedure.

Key Success Factors

In general, sortition is suitable for all participation projects – regardless of the subject matter – at the local, national and European levels. Its advantages become most apparent in the following three scenarios:

- When the goal is to involve as many population groups as possible.
- When the issue is hotly contested or the situation has already reached a dead-end. Advice from a group of citizens who are not directly affected can make the debate more objective and build bridges.
- When it is linked to a procedure of direct democracy, such as if a citizens' report (prepared by a "planning cell" or "citizens' forum" process) precedes a referendum on the municipal, state or national level.

N.B.: Sortition only makes sense if it is linked to a deliberative process. This means that the group of selected citizens will not be left to their own devices, but will be provided with guidance. Participants are supplied with sufficient information, one or more moderators make it possible for the discussion to be held on an equal footing and for the arguments to be balanced, and the results are recorded in writing after the joint work is completed. Indeed, leaving a group of randomly convened laypersons to their own devices is counterproductive, as power structures and group dynamics quickly solidify.



Variants: from pure sortition to set quotas

Sortition is divided into three variants, which are sometimes combined in practice (see table on page 11):

- **Pure sortition:** In this case, every nth card in the resident register is drawn without any intervention in the moment of chance. The states of the European Union use different names for their resident registers, including: “national register” in Belgium (Registre National); “civil registration system” in Denmark (Det Centrale Personregister); “population register” in Estonia (Rahvastikuregister). (See pages 28–31, “Overview of Resident Registers in Europe”)
- **Sortition with weighting:** This deliberately increases the probability of a certain result. For example, every nth card in the resident register is drawn, but only every second male card is taken into account. Doing so promotes the participation of women, as their chances of being selected doubles.

- **Sortition with quotas:** In this case, fixed specifications intervene even more strongly in the moment of randomness. For example, a gender balance would mean that as soon as half of the places are occupied by men, only women will be taken into account, and vice versa.

The advantage of pure sortition is that it gives every citizen the same chance of being selected. If the draw involves a sufficiently large number of names, the probability is very high that all characteristics of the population will be included in the sample. Pure sortition can make sense if the process of citizens' participation is carried out at the federal or state level. However, it requires a central database of contacts and addresses. This type of draw is – in the view of democratic theory – the most democratic.

Weighted sortition allows ex ante corrections to the result of the draw in order to counter foreseeable distortions. For example, it may make sense to give more weight to the under-25s in a draw in order to compensate for the traditionally lower participation rate of this age group. Weighted sortition requires reliable data or experience regarding a possible over- or underweighting, which unfortunately is not always available.

Sortition using quotas makes it possible to calibrate the composition of the sample even more precisely. Doing so increases the probability that the group will be sufficiently heterogeneous. However, using quotas requires reliable statistics on the population in order to be able to determine the quotas.



EXAMPLES

Sortition from antiquity to the present



The Council of 500 in Athens

In the heyday of classical Attic democracy (5th century B.C.), the 500-person Boulé was convened annually by random selection involving all men over 30. This Council of 500 prepared all legislative proposals submitted to the Popular Assembly (Ecclesia) for debate. It also negotiated agreements with foreign powers. After a drawing of lots, 50 councilors (prytaneis) formed the government for one-tenth of the year. Each day, one prytanis was chosen by lot to be chairman or president. He was in possession of the key to the treasury for one day. For the Athenians, random selection was one of the central instruments of democracy. “Thus,” writes Aristotle, “it is considered democratic when public offices are filled by lot, and oligarchic when they are filled by election.”

The doges of Venice

In Venice, the doge was chosen via sortition almost without interruption between 1268 and 1789. For a long time, the process of selection was

highly complex. First, 30 members of the Great Council (400 citizens of the city) were drawn by lots as “lectors,” out of which nine “wise lectors” were selected by lot. Their task was to draw up a list of 41 enlightened citizens by qualified majority. In addition, 12 of these citizens were selected by lot to draw up a list of 25 enlightened citizens by a two-thirds majority. From the group of 25, nine citizens were selected by lot again and given the responsibility for drawing up a list of 11 enlightened citizens. This group then drew 41 citizens by lot (from a bag with the names of all citizens), who then elected the doge. This process aimed to combat corruption, limit the power of the various groupings, and ensure a rotation.

Revival of the idea of representative democracy

Using sortition in politics was forgotten after the end of the Republic of Venice. It was not until the late 1960s that two sociologists – a German and an American – took up the idea again independently of each other. While Peter Dienel studied issues related to spatial planning, Ned Crosby did his doctorate on the concept of social ethics. The two scholars developed similar instruments of civic participation. Both the “planning cell” and the “citizens’ jury” call for a group of roughly 20 citizens to be selected at random and then come up with policy recommendations in a deliberative setting. Since the first planning cell in 1972 and the first citizens’ jury in 1974, both models have established themselves worldwide as important instruments for citizens’ participation.

Successful implementations in modern civil society:



Belgium: A bottom-up initiative creates a political vacuum

In 2011, Belgium had been without a government for over a year. Given these circumstances, an idea was born to launch a citizens' participation process from the bottom up. Ideas were collected online for topics for a citizens' summit, and three of these were ultimately selected by vote: social security, prosperity in times of the financial crisis, and immigration. At the one-day summit, 700 participants were selected via sortition to address the three issues. Then, a random selection of the summit's participants refined the results over three weekends as part of a citizens' panel.

All Belgian residents made up the sample space for the sortition of the 700 summit participants. Invitations were made randomly by telephone. Positive responses respected pre-defined quotas for language, gender, age and province. Ten percent of the places went to non-engaged participants (e.g., homeless or illiterate people). Social organizations helped the organizers recruit such individuals.

The process, which lasted one year in total, is interesting for two reasons: First, because the initiative and its funding (from 3,040 donors) were bottom-up. Second, because pure sortition (random telephone calls) was later combined with a quota system (based on positive responses), and a special quota was introduced for non-engaged citizens.



Ireland: Deliberative + direct democracy change constitution

The Convention on the Constitution was established by the Irish Parliament to formulate recommendations on possible constitutional amendments. Between 2012 and 2014, 100 participants (66 randomly selected citizens, 33 parliamentarians and a chairman) deliberated on ten topics (e.g., same-sex marriage and voting rights) over ten weekends.

A total of 132 citizens were recruited via sortition (66 + 66 as a "shadow convention" in the event of cancellations). Quotas were set based on gender, place of residence, age and socioeconomic status. The residents of 16 municipalities in the country were taken as the sample space. The participants were randomly selected and invited by home visit.

The unique aspect of the process lies in the fact that two of the citizens' recommendations (to make same-sex marriage legal and to lower the age of eligibility for the presidency from 35 to 21) were put to a referendum on May 22, 2015. Another referendum (on legalizing abortion), which had been prepared by 99 randomly selected citizens and an independent "chairperson" in a Citizens' Assembly, was held on May 25, 2018. This gave rise to a combination of deliberative and direct democracy.



France: Citizens' councils influence urban development

In 2013, the French government commissioned two experts to gather ideas on how to get residents more involved in urban planning and local politics. A special focus was placed on the suburban outskirts of large cities known as banlieues. The experts' final report, which included more than 100 proposals, formed the basis for a framework law (Loi de programmation pour la ville et la cohésion urbaine) that was adopted in 2014. One of the innovations in this law are the so-called conseils citoyens, or "citizens' councils." Such councils, which now exist in 1,300 residential areas of the banlieues, participate in discussions and decision-making processes on urban development. Most of them allocate half of their seats via sortition using weightings and quotas. The exact procedure is decided on at the local level.

What is interesting about this example is the combination of national framework (obligatory sortition) and local freedom of choice in the specific implementation. The length of membership (5 years) also makes the French citizens' councils an interesting experiment. Observers are eager to see whether randomly selected citizens are willing to participate for so long.

The three standard methods of sortition in comparison

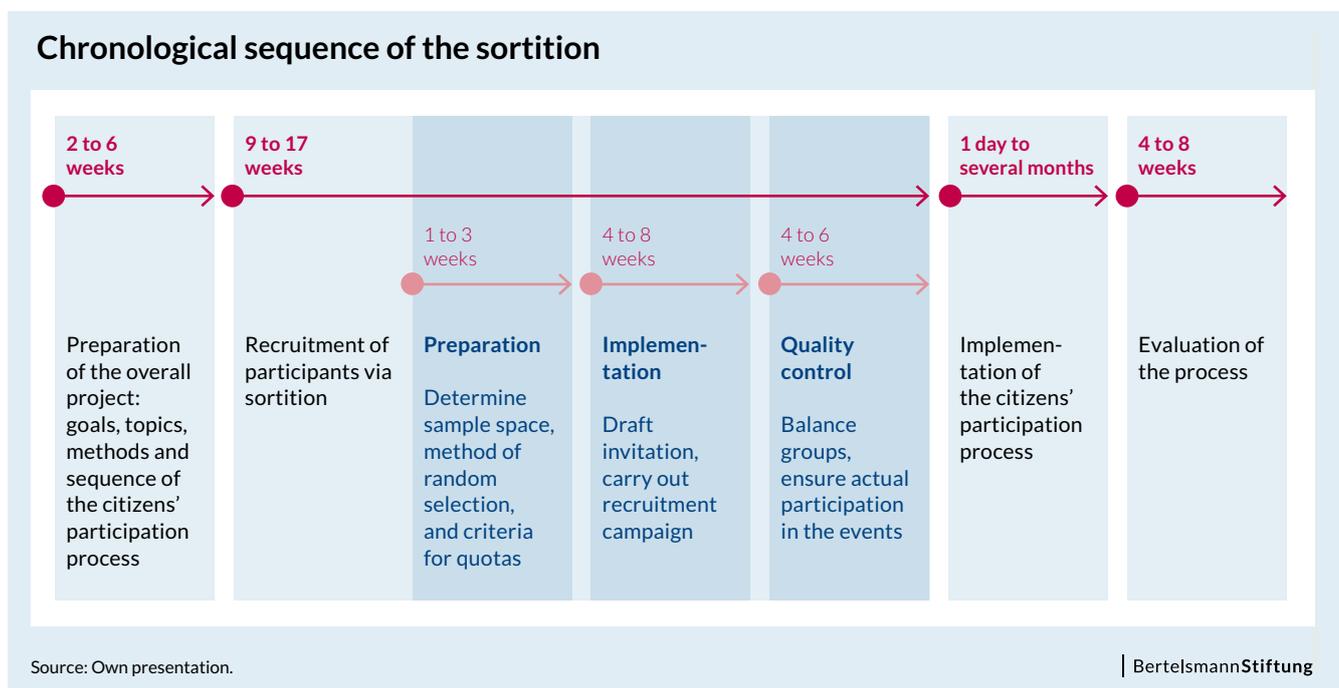
	Pure sortition	Sortition with quotas and weighting	Sortition with quotas but without resident registers
	Draw from the resident register without sociodemographic quotas	Draw from the resident register with sociodemographic / project-relevant quotas	Broad invitation campaign to build up a database
	Invitation to the sample	Invitation to the sample	Draw of participants from the database according to sociodemographic / project-relevant quotas
	Analysis of the answers and possible correction using a draw with sociodemographic / project-relevant quotas	Analysis of the responses and possible correction via follow-up recruitment	
Preferred scenario for use	National citizens' participation process	Municipal, statewide or national citizens' participation process	If it is hard to get access to the resident register
			Additional invitation channel to mobilize underrepresented groups
Advantages & disadvantages	Highly representative	Less representative	Less representative, but high public visibility
	Preparation requires a lot of effort	Preparation requires less effort	Preparation requires the most effort
	High costs	Lower costs	Lower costs
	Requires access to the resident register	Requires access to the resident register and statistics on the population structure	Only requires statistics on the population structure
Preparation process	Determine the sample space	Determine the sample space	Determine the sample space
	Draw	Determine quotas / weighting Draw	Determine quotas
Implementation process	Inviting	Inviting	Invitation campaign without criteria
	Recruiting	Recruiting	
Quality-control process	Evaluation of the responses	Evaluation of the responses	Draw according to quotas
	Possibly follow-up recruitment, cancellations or renewed draw	Possibly follow-up recruitment, cancellations or renewed draw	Recruiting

Source: Own presentation.

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PRACTICE

Carefully planning and successfully carrying out the sortition



Scheduling

The sortition of citizens is to be understood as part of an overall participation project. It takes place in three phases: Preparation – Implementation – Quality Control; one should calculate that the entire process will require up to 17 weeks.

Preparation

Step 1: The Method

The first task in a sortition is to decide on a method. Three standard methods are most common in practice: pure sortition, sortition with quotas and weighting, and sortition with quotas without resident registers (see table on page 11).

Step 2: The Sample Space

Second, it is necessary to define all the possible participants from whom a random selection will be made. In principle, the sample space should be as broad as possible in order to ensure that the sample has a high level of representativeness as well as to improve inclusiveness. In Germany, the resident register is an option (see box on page 13).

Step 3: Quotas / weighting

Once the sample space of possible participants has been set, the criteria for quotas and weighting can be defined. One can basically distinguish between two types of criteria:



Resident register

Everyone living in Germany is recorded in the resident register. The list is administered at the municipal level. Each municipality has such a register; however, since 2015, national registers have also entered the planning or implementation stage. In principle, it is possible to apply for a sample of the register; however, the specific process for doing so varies greatly from municipality to municipality. Among the things included in the register are the following pieces of information: surnames, previous names, first names, date and place of birth, gender, legal representatives / parents of underage children, nationality, membership of a religious community, marital status, underage children.

Germany differs from other EU countries in this respect. For example, personal data is recorded in a central register at the national rather than the municipal level in Austria, Finland, Hungary, the Netherlands, Romania and Sweden. On the other hand, in France, Ireland and the United Kingdom, there is no reporting system like there is in Germany and most other EU member states. For country-specific information, see the “Overview of Resident Registers in Europe” on pages 28-31.

- Sociodemographic criteria are general and cover the information contained in the resident registers (e.g., gender, age, place of residence).
- Project-relevant criteria derive from the details of the specific citizens’ participation project. For example, it can be helpful to define certain criteria (e.g., level of educational achievement, income, whether they are affected by or have opinions on certain topics) and to incorporate them into the quality control.

A criterion can be positive or negative. For example, all individuals whose jobs have something to do with the topic can be removed from the sample in order to obtain a group of laypersons.

Step 4: Draw

Once the criteria have been defined, the draw can be carried out. If using a resident register, it is recommended that approximately 10 times as many names are drawn as the number of participants actually needed. For 100 participants, 1,000 to 1,200 names should be drawn. If the invitation is targeted and weighted, this number may be lower (about eight times as many). The draw might turn out to be slightly smaller at the municipal level.

**Pay attention:
A draw is not participation!**

Taking part in processes of citizens' participation is still voluntary. Thus, there is a difference between individuals who were invited following a random selection (the sample) and citizens who actually participate. The specific recommendations in this guide take this fact into account.

If invitations are to be made via phoning, a lot more names should be drawn. In this case, it can happen that only 3 percent of the people who are called turn out to be interested.

In principle, it is always advisable to invite too many people rather than too few. A follow-up recruitment campaign is more expensive than the original recruitment, as all documents have to be updated and one receives responses that do not

fit with the quotas. If too many people actually do express an interest in participating, the number can be reduced shortly before the event by means of a second draw.

Implementation

Step 1: The invitation

The invitation is the core of the implementation phase. Its aim is twofold: first, to speak to potential participants and, second, to convince them to become actual participants. An invitation comprises the following key elements:

- **Sender:** The inviting institution and/or individual. Experience shows that the more official the sender (mayor, minister, etc.), the higher the response rate. The sender makes clear the importance of the topic and the connection to the representative decision-making process. At the same time, citizens feel that their opinions are valued.

The Four Methods of Recruitment in Comparison

	Advantages	Disadvantages	Tips
Letter	The address is available	Depending on the volume, sending letters can get expensive Preparation requires a lot of effort (printing & mailing)	Always enclose a reply card
	Highest probability that the invitation will arrive		
	Higher response rate		
	Is viewed as very official		
Phone	Fast response ("yes" or "no" comes quick)	The phone number is rarely available	Speak quickly about the citizens' participation process and the inviting institution: "It's not a survey or a product advertisement."
		Phoning can require a lot of effort (1,200 to 3,600 calls that have to be made at the right calling times)	
		Great mistrust among the population	
SMS	Very high reading ratio	The phone number is rarely available	This is always a sensible thing to do in order to motivate people who have already been contacted to make a decision.
	Fast and automated		
	Inexpensive		
Email	Very inexpensive	Not representative	What you put in the subject line is immensely important and should be tested out in advance on your own acquaintances ("Would you open this email?")
	Fast	Email address not always known	

Source: Own presentation.

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- **Subject matter:** The invitation explains the challenges, the open questions and what the participants will deliberate on.
- **Mandate:** The invitation should clearly state the scope of the citizens' participation process. Citizens' participation processes with clearly defined scopes are more popular. However, mandates that are too broad or vague lead to rejection and frustration.
- **Integration into the decision-making process:** The invitation should make clear the status and use of the results.
- **Sortition:** The invitation should clearly explain why the addressee is receiving the invitation, how he or she was selected, and why sortition was used (representativeness/diversity, impartiality, culture of participation, inclusiveness, etc.).
- **Incentives:** The invitation should list the measures that the organizers can offer participants in order to support or motivate them (see also Step 2: Recruitment).
- **Lastly, the invitation should include all practical information:** when, where, how long, contact for questions and replies, how to register.

Step 2: Recruitment

Incentives and supporting measures are necessary in order to boost the response rate and to reach certain population groups better. These measures are admittedly no substitute for the core motivation of the citizens: to participate, to be heard, to influence policies. But they do convey a higher level of appreciation and can provide additional motivation to commit to participating. Conceivable measures include not only expenditure allowances and cost reimbursements, but also non-financial incentives, such as certificates of participation or a convivial accompanying program (for a detailed overview, see page 22, "Overview of Incentives and Supporting Measures for Recruitment").

Once the invitation is ready, it will be adapted to the various recruitment methods and media. The table "The Four Methods of Recruitment in Comparison" on page 14 provides a comparison of the four most important ways of sending an invitation.

Quality control: Readjustment

The invitations have been sent out, and the responses are coming in. The task now is to design the group to be as diverse as possible. Although there is no generally applicable rule, practice has shown that one of the following three scenarios will usually play out:

Scenario 1: not representative

Enough responses have come in, but some population groups are over- or underrepresented. This is the most frequent scenario. In this case, two things must be done. First, you need to organize a targeted follow-up recruitment campaign – either via an additional draw with weighting for the underrepresented groups or by engaging multipliers who can address specific groups. Second, you need to prepare a letter for those people who belong to an over-represented group and will ultimately not receive a definitive invitation to participate.

Scenario 2: too few commitments

Not enough responses come in. This scenario is unfortunately possible, and it makes a new recruitment campaign necessary. There are two questions you need to ask yourself first: Is the citizens' participation process sufficiently interesting (relevant and linked to a decision-making process)? Was the invitation clearly formulated? After making possible adjustments to the process and the invitation, you need to launch a new recruitment campaign with an additional draw and/or the activation of multipliers.

Scenario 3: too many commitments

Enough responses come in, and the quotas are filled. But you ultimately have more commitments than places. This scenario is ideal, but rare. In this scenario, your priority should be to prepare a letter for the individuals who ultimately won't get a place. A new sortition should reduce the number of registered participants to 130 percent of the places. Experience has shown that 30 percent of the people won't show up despite having said they would. So, for a group of 100 citizens, you should get definite commitments from 130.

PRACTICAL EXAMPLES

Sortition in citizens' participation projects, from the municipal to the EU-Level

- >> Citizens' Assembly in the City of Gdansk, Poland, 2016-2017
- >> Municipal Reform Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany, 2008
- >> BürgerForum: The Future Needs Solidarity, Germany, 2011
- >> Citizens' Debate on Space for Europe, 2016



Citizens' Assembly in the City of Gdansk, Poland 2016-2017



>> Local level

>> 56 participants and 8 alternates

Preparation

Goal

Approximately 60 citizens convene to discuss a specific topic – partly in plenary sessions and partly in smaller working groups – and to develop proposals for solutions. The first citizens' assemblies were held on the topics of floods, air pollution and civic involvement in Gdansk. Sixty citizens form a good group size. The group is big enough to include a diversity of perspectives of people who live in Gdansk.

Sortition process

There are two main steps of the sortition: The first step is selecting who will receive the letter with an invitation. The second step is who will be selected to the citizens' assembly out of those who have registered to take part in it. There is also random selection of demographic profiles, which could be treated as another step. Our software gets the numbers from the website Random.org for shortening the list to 6 people. Then we roll the dice.

Sample space

All citizens of Gdansk who are eligible to vote

Criteria for quotas and weighting

Gender, age, district in Gdansk, education level

Implementation

Inviting and recruiting

A citizens' assembly was held three times in Gdansk in the 2016–2017 period. Recruiting for each of them was done via a multi-stage process. In the first step, about 10,000 citizens from Gdansk were randomly selected from the resident register and then invited via a letter from the mayor to participate in the citizens' assembly. The letter contained all necessary information regarding the participation project. In the second step, about 900 interested citizens registered to participate either online or by phone. This included providing information about their education level. The final sortition was done in a third step: The website

Random.org (www.random.org) gave the numbers, our special software filtered the appropriate profiles from the registered list, and then it used an algorithm to assign them to randomly selected numbers. Using dice rolled live on the internet, the 56 citizens and 8 alternates were selected. This dice roll in particular provides transparency in the selection process.

Participating citizens received an expense allowance of approximately €140 euros for one citizens' assembly, which entailed four to six meetings on weekends. The total costs for each citizens' assembly was about €30,000.

Quality control

Using special computer programs that randomly created profiles, filtered them and generated numbers for them ensured inclusiveness and the heterogeneity of the group of citizens. Each step in the three-step process was checked and electronically recorded. Doing so made it possible to transparently trace each step and made manipulation impossible. This created confidence in the process.

Analysis

The interesting thing about the project in Gdansk is that a citizens' assembly can be initiated by the citizens themselves. If more than 1,000 signatures of Gdansk citizens are collected, the mayor can convene a citizens' assembly using sortition to determine its participants. If more than 5,000 signatures are collected, he must convene it. Each assembly lasts at least four days in total, and outside experts are invited to them. Citizens take their knowledge, assessments and perspectives into account when drawing up their own recommendations. The citizens' proposals are taken into consideration in decision-making on municipal policies.

Key Facts

Sponsor

City of Gdansk

Implementing body

A group of coordinators with facilitators

Further information

www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJvKiUqMZlc

www.citizensassemblies.org

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Municipal Reform Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany, 2008

- >> State level
- >> Selection of participants from 6 planning cells

Preparation

Goal

To have six groups, each made up of 25 citizens in Rhineland-Palatinate, serve on six planning cells to develop recommendations for municipal and administration reforms in the state.

Sortition process

Standard procedure 2: Sortition with quotas

Sample space

All registered residents of the municipalities of Pirmasens, Vallendar and Prüm. In this way, a city, a suburban area and a rural area were represented.

Criteria for quotas and weighting

Age, gender, place of residence

Implementation

Inviting and recruiting

The State Chancellery sent out written invitations to randomly selected citizens welcoming them to participate. The invitation included: a personal letter from then-Minister President Kurt Beck; a letter from the implementing institute, which presented itself as an unbiased organizer; a leaflet containing the most important information on the planning cell procedure; a postage-paid reply card to accept or reject or to request additional information.

For the first wave of invitations, 500 letters were sent out to residents of each municipality. Since the response rate was low, the random sample was expanded and 1,000 more invitations were sent out in each municipality. In addition, telephone calls were made to motivate invitees to participate.

Quality control

With 144 citizen consultants, the target of having 150 participants in the six planning cells (25 per planning cell) was largely achieved.

Analysis

The example shows that a combination of invitation by letter and telephone call is an effective way to increase the response rate.

Key Facts

Sponsor

State of Rhineland-Palatinate

Implementing body

nexus Institut, Berlin

Website

www.nexusinstitut.de/images/stories/download/08-09-12_RLP_Buergergutachten.pdf

BürgerForum: The Future Needs Solidarity, Germany, 2011



- >> National level
- >> Selection of participants for 25 citizens' forums

Preparation

Goal

25 groups of 400 citizens each from 25 municipalities

Sortition process

Standard procedure 2: Sortition with quotas

Sample space

All citizens in 25 municipalities in Germany. In the fall of 2010, all administrative districts (Landkreise) in Germany and all cities with more than 80,000 residents were invited to participate in the citizens' forum. From more than 160 applications, 25 cities and districts were ultimately selected by random selection.

Criteria for quotas and weighting

Region, age (divided into age groups), gender and level of formal education

Implementation

Inviting and recruiting

1. regional press work to announce the project;
2. written invitation with official letter from the Federal President to inform the selected citizens about the project;
3. telephone recruitment of the people already written to;
4. follow-up phoning to fill in missing "target ranges."

Quality control

Regular monitoring of whether the quotas in each participating region had been reached. If a target group was underrepresented, follow-up telephone recruitment was carried out. Between 300 and 400 citizens from each region – or a total of roughly 10,000 people – attended the kick-off events.

Analysis

The example shows the opportunities and challenges of a massive sortition. Opportunities: Broader recruitment is a given, since the numbers offer a representative selection; the size enables

media visibility. Challenges: You need a campaign requiring a lot of effort to obtain 10,000 commitments via telephone recruiting, as usually only 3 percent of the people called actually react to it.

Key Facts

Sponsor

Bertelsmann Stiftung

Implementing body

Bertelsmann Stiftung

Website

www.buerger-forum.info (updated website, BürgerForum 2011 no longer online)



Citizens' Debate on Space for Europe, 2016

- >> European level
- >> Selection of 1,600 participants

Preparation

Goal

To involve citizens in choices to define the priorities for the future of the ESA's space activities, such as innovation, exploration and international space cooperation.

Sample space

All citizens of the respective countries, since no resident registers were used. Convene groups of 80 citizens each in the 22 member states of the European Space Agency.

Criteria for quotas and weighting

Gender, age, place of residence (< 100 km from the meeting venue; between 100 and 200; > 200 – target was a third of each of these three proximity ranges); interest in space travel (on a scale of 1 to 5); knowledge about the topic (on a scale of 1 to 4: from “I am a layperson” to “I work in the industry” – target was 50 percent of category 1 and no more than 10 percent of category 4)

Implementation

Invitation

Promulgation in newspapers, by email and through social media.

Recruitment

Central internet platform. Interested individuals had to answer five questions that made the quota system verifiable.

Quality control

Regular monitoring of whether the quotas had been reached Europe-wide and in each country. If a target group was underrepresented, extra efforts were made to reach out to its members (e.g., an article in the local newspaper; a notice posted on a website primarily visited by women). On the day of the debate, between 50 and 130 citizens showed up – for a total of around 1,600 people, including 130 participants from Germany.

Analysis

The goal of the 1,840 participants was not completely reached. The main explanations for this are: The recruitment campaign took place in the summer, was decentralized (with varying capacities), and was relatively brief.

Having a central online platform for registration is practical in terms of quality control, but having it as the only means of recruitment creates a risk of excluding some groups of the population.

Key Facts

Sponsor

European Space Agency (ESA)

Implementing body

Missions Publiques along with partners in the ESA's 22 member countries

Website

www.citizensdebate.space/en_GB/home

COSTS

The four examples in comparison



Gdansk

56 participants
and 8 alternates

Rheinland-Pfalz

144 participants
(in 3 municipalities)

BürgerForum 2011

10,000
participants
(in 25 regions)Citizens'
Debate on Space
for Europeapprox. 1,600
participants
(in 22 countries)

Preparation

Labor time:
Determine criteria
and quotas

2 days

2 days

2-3 days
per region

2 days

Draw from the
resident register

10,000 names

4,500 names:
4,000 euros or 0
euros if the
municipality itself is
involved and covers
the costs8,000 names per
region from their
resident registers

no draw

Implementation

Labor time
(prepare, test and
print invitation ...)

1 week

1 week

5-6 months of prepa-
ration,
including 3 months
of recruitment by
telephone22 months
(1 month per country
plus 2 months for
coordination)Direct costs
(letters,
advertisements)Prepare and make
available letters
and software4,500 x 0.85 euros
for stampsLetters; telephone
calls, 29 euros per
recruited
participant (incl.
follow-up
recruitment)Letters, mailings,
advertisements

Online draws

1,000 euros
(excluding
development
costs for computer
programs)

Quality control

Labor time
(monitoring, further
inquiries, follow-up
recruitment)2 weeks
(administrative
labor time and
support from
experts,
coordinators)

2 weeks

6 weeks

2 weeks per
country plus
2 weeks for
coordinationDirect costs:
Follow-up
recruitment, calls,
commitments by
mail, confirmations,
etc.Costs for experts,
coordinators5 euros per
participant

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ANNEX

OVERVIEW

Incentives and Supporting Measures for Recruitment

Incentive	Type of measure	Advantages	Disadvantages
Compensation for expenses	Per diem rate, e.g., based on the expense allowance for jurors (approx. €100 / day) or the attendance fee in the Council (between €20 and €100 per meeting, depending on the municipality)	Makes it possible to recruit non-engaged citizens Represents a modeling after the representative system	Can get expensive
	Possibility of claiming compensation for loss of earnings	Makes it possible to recruit specific population groups (e.g., freelancers)	Expensive, undermines equal treatment of citizens (through wage differentials leading to varying levels of compensation)
	Voucher for an event, museum, etc.	Can be free (municipal museum or theater ...) Easy to communicate	
Reimbursements	Travel and accommodation expenses	Very effective in convincing motivated but less well-to-do citizens to participate Very important in rural areas or for larger reference areas (state, country)	Can get expensive very quickly if the area is large and the citizens' participation process lasts more than one day
Non-financial incentives	Certificate of participation	Very inexpensive and easy Citizens appreciate this recognition a lot	Merely symbolic
	Theme-related visits (e.g., to a recycling center if it's about waste)	Inexpensive and easy	Not always possible
	Concert or reception at the closing of the event	Makes it possible to have a social event beyond the issue Appealing to citizens	Can get expensive
Supporting measures	Certificate for employers	Makes it easier for employees to participate	
	Recognition as educational leave / a further training measure	Makes it much easier for employees to participate	It can require a lot of effort (applications and administration)
	Child care	Makes it easier for single parents to participate	Can get expensive
	Centrally organize travel / accommodations and pay in advance	Makes it easier for poorer, older and younger citizens to participate Increases the commitment to participate	Requires a lot of effort (buying, processing, mailing tickets, etc.)

SAMPLE DOCUMENTS

Interview guidelines of the “BürgerForum 2011”

1. Greeting

When calling a resident:

→ Hello, my name is (name of the caller) from the BürgerForum 2011, an initiative of our Federal President, Christian Wulff.

→ May I ask who I am speaking with?

→ Am I speaking with Mr./Mrs./Ms. ... in person?

When calling a resident again:

→ Hello, my name is (name of the caller) from the BürgerForum 2011. We tried to reach you earlier by phone.

→ May I ask who I am speaking with?

→ Am I speaking with Mr./Mrs./Ms. ... in person?

2. Starting the Conversation

→ With the BürgerForum 2011, the Federal President would like to give you, as a citizen, an opportunity to actively support the development of our society. Have you already heard about the project in the media?

If yes:

→ Great! As you know, the Federal President's initiative is also supported by (name of the top-ranking official in the respective municipality). → PROCEED TO 3.

If no:

→ The (name of the specific media source) has extensively reported on the Federal President's initiative. What's more, it is also supported by (name of the top-ranking official in the respective municipality). → PROCEED TO 3.

3. Residents' Reactions & How to Handle Objections

→ The BürgerForum 2011 will be taking place simultaneously at 25 locations in Germany. Four hundred people will be invited to the BürgerForum in (name of the venue). You don't need any previous knowledge to participate in the BürgerForum. The Federal President hopes to obtain independent and non-partisan proposals on how to strengthen cohesion in society. Would you generally be interested in participating?

If yes:

→ It's great that you're willing to participate! After a kick-off event with 400 participants, to be held in mid-March in (name of the venue), there will be several weeks of online discussions. After another event, all 25 regional forums will be networked with each other online. The results of the BürgerForum will be presented to the Federal President and the public at the end of May.

→ PROCEED TO 4.

If no:

→ That's too bad. Would you happen to know someone else who might be interested in participating?

If yes:

→ Great! Would you be kind enough to tell me when and how it is best to reach (name of the person mentioned)? I hope that you will be able to follow the work of the BürgerForum, at least in the media. → PROCEED TO 7.

If no:

→ I understand! Then I hope you will be able to follow the work of the BürgerForum, at least in the media. → PROCEED TO 7.

4. Requesting / Recording Sociodemographic Facts

→ The Federal President understandably hopes that all groups of the population will be equally represented in the BürgerForum. With this in mind, may I ask you how old you are and about your educational background?

If the responses match your needs:

→ Thank you for sharing this information! We're happy to be able to invite you to participate in the BürgerForum 2011. → [PROCEED TO 5.](#)

If the responses don't match your needs:

→ Thank you for sharing this information! Unfortunately, this target group is already strongly represented in the BürgerForum. We will gladly get back to you if our needs change. → [PROCEED TO 7.](#)

5. Requesting Email Addresses and Internet Availability

→ In order to participate in the BürgerForum, you will need to be able to access the internet and use an email address. If you do not have a private internet connection, you can also use a public internet connection. For example, you can find one in your local public library. Do you have internet access and an email address?

If yes:

→ Fantastic! Then let's finally clarify whether you have time. → [PROCEED TO 6.](#)

If no:

→ That's too bad. Would you happen to know someone else who might be interested in participating?

If yes:

→ Great! Would you be kind enough to tell me when and how it is best to reach (name of the person mentioned)? I hope that you will be able to follow the work of the BürgerForum, at least in the media. → [PROCEED TO 7.](#)

If no:

→ I understand! Then I hope you will be able to follow the work of the BürgerForum, at least in the media. → [PROCEED TO 7.](#)

6. Requesting to Meet at a Particular Time and Place

→ Can you attend the two events in person, on March 12 (all day, from 9:30 in the morning to 6:00 in the evening) and on May 14 (approx. 3 hours in the late afternoon)?

If yes:

→ Congratulations! We have reserved a spot for you in the BürgerForum 2011. Do you agree to having your personal data passed on to the organizers so they can complete the registration process? If so, please provide me with your full name, your place of residence, your email address and your telephone number should we have any additional questions. We will send you a confirmation via email that includes a link to a website. On this page, you can find detailed information about the project and complete your binding registration by (registration deadline). → [PROCEED TO 7.](#)

If no:

→ That's too bad. Would you happen to know someone else who might be interested in participating?

If yes:

→ Great! Would you be kind enough to tell me when and how it is best to reach (name of the person mentioned)? I hope that you will be able to follow the work of the BürgerForum, at least in the media. → [PROCEED TO 7.](#)

If no:

→ I understand! Then I hope you will be able to follow the work of the BürgerForum, at least in the media. → [PROCEED TO 7.](#)

7. Saying Goodbye

→ Do you have any other questions? (Reference to www.buergerforum2011.de, if necessary) Then thank you for speaking with me and have a nice day!

8. Other Points for Discussion

For questions regarding data privacy and protection:

Question: Where did you obtain my data?

→ The Federal President believes that it is very important that the BürgerForum 2011 reflects the diversity of society. That's why you were randomly selected from the telephone book.

When data regarding friends / acquaintances is shared:

→ Mr./Mrs./Ms. (name of recommender) was kind enough to share your information with us.

Question: What will happen with my data?

→ Your data will be used exclusively by the organizers to carry out the BürgerForum 2011 and deleted after that. It will not be shared with third parties.

For questions about the caller's identity:

Question: Who are you, anyway?

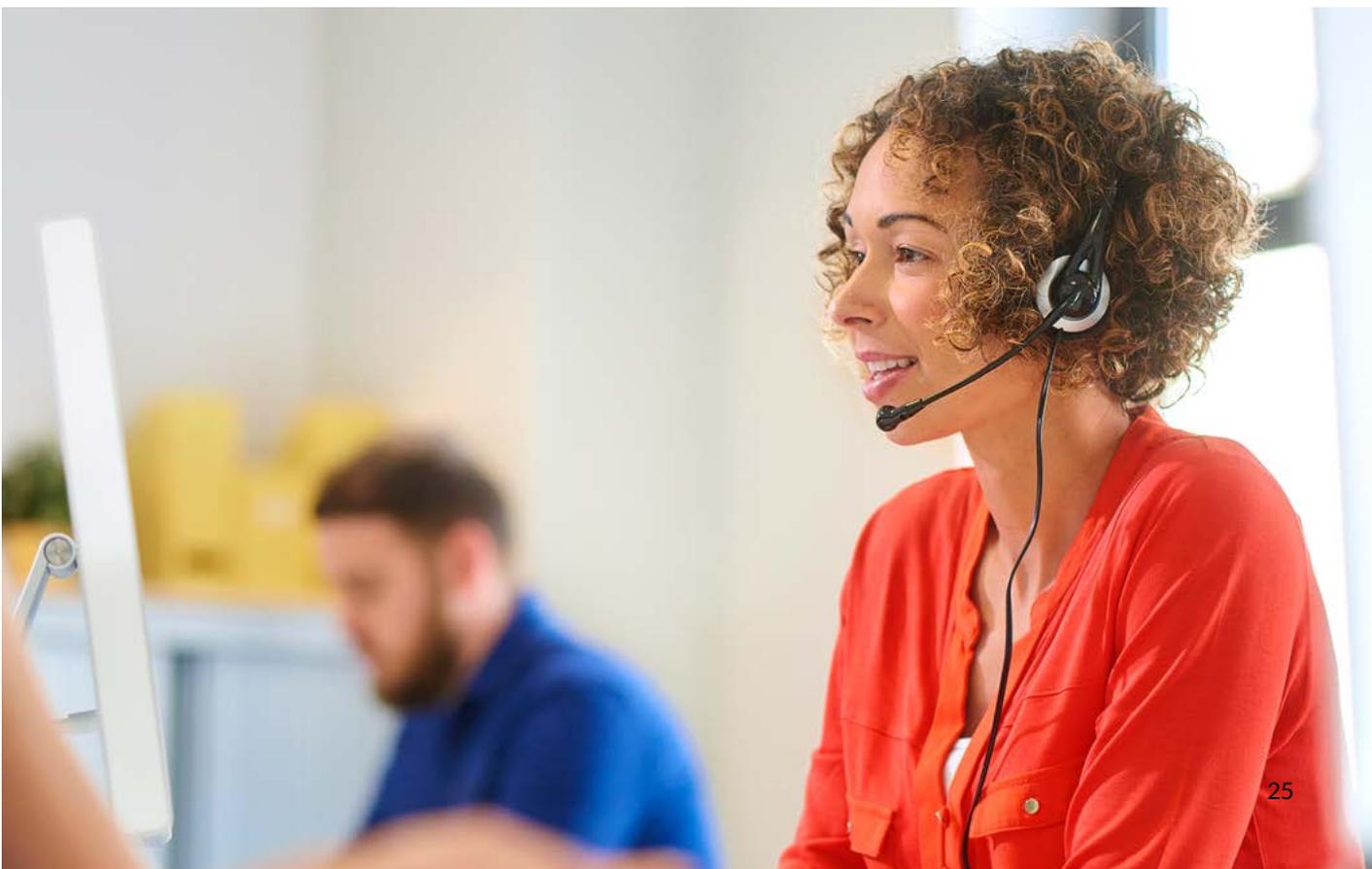
→ The BürgerForum 2011 is an initiative of Federal President Christian Wulff. It is being jointly organized by the Bertelsmann Stiftung and the Heinz Nixdorf Foundation. The foundations are receiving support in recruiting participants by the Münster-based company "buw."

If the person you're calling wants to know more:

→ My name is (name of the caller) from the company buw Customer Care Operations Münster GmbH, An den Loddenbüschen 95, 48155 Münster.

If the person you're calling wants to know where he or she can check the information:

→ BürgerForum 2011
www.buergerforum2011.de
 Telephone number: +49 (0)5241-8181222
 Email: info@buergerforum2011.de



Letter using the Citizens' Debate on Space for Europe as an example

Title and topic → **Citizens' debate on space for Europe – We need your opinion!**

Greeting → Dear **<Name if available or citizen>**

<Organization name> invites you to participate in a citizen meeting on Space for Europe:

Saturday September 10th 2016 at **<time>
in **<name and address of the meeting location or trip>**** ← **Place and time**

Sponsor → On September 10th 2016, about 2000 citizens coming from 22 European countries will participate to the first – and the only – **Citizens' debate on Space for Europe!** This is an unprecedented scale consultation organised by the European Space Agency (ESA).

Citizens will meet in each country to discuss and vote about the same questions. And you are invited to be one of them.

Join a unique event and contribute to the future of space for Europe

Participate to the debate and you will, together with 99 other citizens in **<your country>**. **You will be sitting at a table with 5 to 7 other citizens** so you can meet and exchange views on space, soace programmes and the future space policies. Your work will be presented to the people who will decide for the future space programmes of the European Space Agency.

 ← **Process**

Sortition → **Any citizen can participate**

You do NOT need any special knowledge about space and its features in order to participate and if you are not aware of it you will discover space policies are related to our daily lives and burning world issues. The idea is to bring the views of ordinary citizens to the decision makers. You will receive a magazine about space and its issues a couple of weeks before the meeting. At the meeting, you will be guided with video clips, a main speaker and one person will facilitate and guide discussions at each table.

Goal of the participation process → Once the results are available and consolidated (first results will be available online on debate's day) they will be transferred to the **ESA's executive bodies**.

Attendance at the citizen consultation is free. Enrolment however is necessary and you are invited to **register online on the website www.citizensdebate.space** ← **Enrollment / Response**

Impact → Turn your thoughts into space action by letting the persons involved in the decisions for the next space programme hear what you think. We hope to see you on 10 September!

Best regards,

<name and organization> ← **Contact**

Literature and Links



Theory of Sortition

Buchstein, Hubertus (2009). *Demokratie und Lotterie: Das Los als politisches Entscheidungsinstrument von der Antike bis zur EU*. Frankfurt.

Vergne, Antoine (2013). *Kleros & Demos: la théorie du tirage au sort en politique au banc d'essai de la pratique de la Planungszelle et du jury citoyen*. Berlin.

www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000093998

Allianz Vielfältige Demokratie and Bertelsmann Stiftung (2017). *Bürgerbeteiligung mit Zufallsauswahl. Das Zufallsprinzip als Garant einer vielfältigen demokratischen Beteiligung: ein Leitfaden für die Praxis*. Gütersloh.

www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/publikationen/publikation/did/buergerbeteiligung-mit-zufallsauswahl/

Allianz Vielfältige Demokratie and Bertelsmann Stiftung (2018). *Quality of a Citizens' Participation: Ten Principles with Key Questions and Recommendations*. Gütersloh.

www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/publications/publication/did/enhancing-the-quality-of-citizens-participation/

Allianz Vielfältige Demokratie and Bertelsmann Stiftung (2017). *Qualität von Bürgerbeteiligung. Zehn Grundsätze mit Leitfragen und Empfehlungen*. Gütersloh.

www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/publikationen/publikation/did/qualitaet-von-buergerbeteiligung/

Civic Lottery

MASS LBP Inc. (2017). *How to run a Civic Lottery: Designing fair selection mechanisms for deliberative public processes. A Guide and License*. Version 1.2, Toronto, Canada.

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55af0533e4b04fd6bca65bc8/t/5aafb4b66d2a7312c182b69d/1521464506233/Lotto_Paper_v1.1.2.pdf

Athens

Hansen, Mogens (1999). *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes: Structure, Principles, and Ideology*. 2nd edition. London.

Venice

Finlay, Robert (1980). *Politics in Renaissance Venice*. London.

Planning Cell

Dienel, Peter C. (2009). *Demokratisch, Praktisch, Gut: Merkmale, Wirkungen und Perspektiven von Planungszellen und Bürgergutachten*. Bonn.

Citizens' Forum

Bertelsmann Stiftung (2015). *Bürgerforum: Informationen zur Planung und Durchführung des Beteiligungsformats*.

www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/19_Kommunale_Buergerbeteiligung/ZD_Handbuch_BuergerForum_2015.pdf

G1000

<http://g1000.org/de/index.php>

2012 Constitutional Convention of Ireland

www.constitution.ie
www.constitution.ie/documents/behaviourandattitudes.pdf

Conseils Citoyens

www.conseilscitoyens.fr

Beyond the Ballot:

Civic Lotteries & Democratic Reform

www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL93HuTF8MR-sp3UefmQyVeyXT5swg5kxPr

All links were checked on Oct. 12, 2018.

OVERVIEW

Resident Registers in Europe

Country	Resident register exists?	National	Municipal	Name of the resident register (official / English)
Austria	Yes	X		Zentrales Melderegister, Ministry of the Interior / Central Register of Residents
Belgium	Yes	X		Nationalregister / Registre national / National Register
Bulgaria	Yes	X	X	Population Register (national and municipal)
Croatia	Unclear			
Cyprus	No data			
Czech Republic	Yes	X		Registr obyvatel / Basic Registers
Denmark	Yes	X		Det Centrale Personregister / Civil Registration System (national)
Estonia	Yes	X		Rahvastikuregister / Population Register (national)
Finland	Yes	X		Väestörekisterikeskus / Population Register Centre
France	No			
Greece	N/A			
Hungary	Yes	X		Budapest Főváros Kormányhivatala Állampolgársági és Anyakönyvezési Főosztály
Iceland	Yes	X		Þjóðskrá Íslands / Registers Iceland (national)
Ireland	No			
Italy	Yes		X	Anagrafe / Register Office
Latvia	No data			
Lithuania	Yes	X		Gyventojų registras / Population Register

Notes	Further Information
In Austria, all personal data are recorded in a Central Register of Residents administered by the Ministry of the Interior.	www.bmi.gv.at/413/
All registration data is recorded in both a local and a national resident register.	www.ibz.rrn.fgov.be
All registration data is recorded in both a local and a national resident register.	www.dkh.minfin.bg/images_content/reg.pdf
Residents must be registered with the local police. But it is not clear whether there is a central register for this data.	
In the Czech Republic, all data on residents are stored in a central register.	www.szrcr.cz/index.php?lang=2
All persons registered in Denmark are listed in this register.	https://lifeindenmark.borger.dk/coming-to-denmark/cpr-bank-nemid/cpr---registration-in-denmark
All persons registered in Estonia are listed in this register.	www.siseministeerium.ee/en/population-register
All persons registered in Finland are listed in this register.	https://vrk.fi/en/frontpage
France does not have resident registers comparable to those in Germany. There is only one identification register which records name as well as day and place of birth.	www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F2651
In Hungary, there is a central office that collects personal data on all people registered as living in the country.	https://budapest.diplo.de/hu-de/service/-/1614976
Iceland has one central national registry.	www.skra.is/english/about-us/about-us/
There is no resident register in Ireland. The electoral roll is used for personal information. EU citizens do not have a formal obligation to register in Ireland.	https://rsw.beck.de/cms/?toc=MMR.ARC.200407&docid=122815
Italy has a decentralized reporting system in which municipalities manage their own reporting office (Anagrafe).	www.poliziadistato.it/articolo/10930
All personal data about people living in Lithuania are recorded in a central register of persons.	www.litlex.lt/litlex/eng/frames/laws/Documents/44.HTM

Country	Resident register exists?	National	Municipal	Name of the resident register (official / English)
Luxembourg	Yes	X		Registre national des personnes physiques (RNPP)
Malta	Yes	X		Public Registry
Netherlands	Yes	X		Basisregistratie Personen / Basic Registry of Persons [own translation]
Poland	Yes	X		Elektroniczny System Ewidencji Ludności / Universal Electronic System for Registration of the Population (PESEL)
Portugal	No			
Romania	Yes	X		Directia pentru Evidenta Persoanelor si Administrarea Bazelor de Date / Directorate for Persons Record and Databases Management, Ministry of Administration and Interior
Slovakia	Yes	X		Register obyvateľov Slovenskej republiky / Register of Inhabitants of the Slovak Republic
Slovenia	Yes	X		Registrskem Popisu / Central Population Register
Spain	Yes	X	X	El padrón municipal (municipal) / Municipal Register; Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) (national)
Sweden	Yes	X		Folkbokförd / Population Register
United Kingdom	No			

Notes	Further Information
All personal data about people living in Luxembourg are recorded in a central register of persons.	https://guichet.public.lu/en/citoyens/citoyennete/registre-national/identification-registre-national/consultation-registre-national.html
All personal data about people living in Malta are recorded in a central register of persons.	https://identitymalta.com/public-registry/
All personal data about people living in the Netherlands are recorded in a central register of persons.	https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/en/content/youthwiki/51-general-context-netherlands-0
The Polish Ministry of the Interior administers the PESEL, a central digital registry.	www.dijuf.de/tl_files/downloads/2011/Laenderinformation-Polen.pdf
In Portugal, there are no local or national reporting offices like those in Germany.	www.livinginportugal.com/en/moving-to-portugal/residency-requirements/
Romania uses an ID card system through which all personal data are collected by a specific unit of the Ministry of the Interior.	http://depabd.mai.gov.ro/index_eng.html
All personal data of persons living in Slovakia are recorded in the Population Register.	www.cefmr.pan.pl/docs/thesim_report_sk.pdf
In Slovenia, all personal data are recorded in a Central Population Register administered by the Ministry of the Interior.	www.stat.si/Popis2011/eng/Default.aspx?lang=eng
In Spain, data are collected through local registers that are centrally administered by the INE.	www.ksh.hu/dgins2017/papers/dgins2017_session1_es.pdf www.ine.es/en/metodologia/t20/t203024566_en.htm
All personal data of persons living in Sweden are recorded in the Population Register.	www.skatteverket.se/servicelankar/otherlanguages/inenglish/individualsandemployees/movingtosweden.4.7be5268414bea064694c40c.html
In the United Kingdom, there is no resident register as such. For this reason, the respective data are usually taken from the national electoral register, though this cannot represent the entire population.	

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What is the “Alliance for a Diverse Democracy”?

The “Alliance for a Diverse Democracy” (in German, the “Allianz Vielfältige Demokratie”) is a German network made up of 120 thought leaders and practitioners from the fields of public administration, politics and civil society. It was initiated by the Bertelsmann Stiftung and founded on October 1, 2015. The Alliance aims to strengthen citizens’ participation and to contribute to fostering the constructive interaction of deliberative, direct and representative participation. It engages in efforts aimed at advancing the inclusive and broad participation of all segments of the population in order to counteract the social divide in democracies.

Individuals from both the federal, state and municipal levels are working together to help shape a diverse democracy. They contribute their personal experiences and expertise to this effort. They develop, test and implement specific solutions for democratic practice.

Imprint

© October 2018
Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh

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This brochure is based on the German-language brochure “Bürgerbeteiligung mit Zufallsauswahl. Das Zufallsprinzip als Garant einer vielfältigen demokratischen Beteiligung: ein Leitfaden für die Praxis.” This guide was developed by the “Integrated Participation” working group of the “Alliance for a Diverse Democracy.”

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